

Message Text

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SUBJECT: OCTOBER 31 SPC MEETING: ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS ON DETENTE

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN ITS MEETING OCTOBER 31, SPC DECIDED ON ILLUSTRATIVE QUESTIONS(SEPTEL) TO GUIDE SOVIET/EE EXPERTS IN THEIR CONSIDERATION OF TOPICS RELATED TO ALLIANCE DETENTE DISCUSSIONS. SPC ALSO REJECTED FRENCH SUGGESTION THAT SPC WORK ON DETENTE BE RESUMED ONLY AFTER COMPLETION OF SOVIET EXPERTS REPORT. ALLIES NOW SEEM COMMITTED TO DEVELOPING A LIST OF QUESTIONS TO GUIDE COUNCIL AND MINISTERIAL DETENTE DISCUSSIONS. LIST IS NOT INTENDED TO BE EXHAUSTIVE NOR IN ANY WAY TO RESTRICT SUBSEQUENT DEBATE. SPC AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT ONE OF LIST'S PRIMARY OBJECTIVES WOULD BE THE IDENTIFICATION ANY DIFFERENCES IN ALLIED PERCEPTIONS OF DETENTE. FRG DELEGATION INITIATED THIS PROCESS WITH AN INTERESTING AND USEFUL LIST OF QUESTIONS COVERING DETENTE AS SEEN BY BONN. END SUMMARY.

1. SPC CHAIRMAN KASTL OPENED OCTOBER 31 DISCUSSIONS ON DETENTE WITH STATEMENT THAT PRESENTATION BY COUNSELOR SONNEFELDT AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN HAD PROVIDED "ILLUMINATION" FOR FURTHER SPC EFFORT. REFERRING TO PERMREPS DISCUSSION AT LUNCH ON OCTOBER 29 (USNATO 6065), KASTL SAID SPC CONFIDENTIAL

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MUST CLEARLY ESTABLISH NEXT STEPS IN THE ALLIANCE'S DETENTE DELIBERATIONS. AS PRIORITY ITEM, KASTL ASKED SPC TO DECIDE ON LIST OF QUESTIONS TO GUIDE SOVIET/EE EXPERTS IN THEIR CONSIDERATION OF TOPICS THAT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO ALLIANCE'S

DETENTE DISCUSSIONS.

2. FRENCH REP (CARRAUD) REITERATED PREVIOUS OBJECTIONS ABOUT UTILITY OF DETAILED SPC AND NAC DETENTE DISCUSSIONS PRIOR TO MINISTERIAL DEBATE ON THAT SUBJECT. RATHER, FRENCH FAVORED A GENERAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS TO TAKE PLACE AFTER THE SOVIET/EE EXPERTS HAD COMPLETED THEIR WORK.

3. OTHER DELEGATIONS REJECTED FRENCH SUGGESTION ON THE BASIS THAT, WITH TIME GROWING SHORT, SPC HAD ENOUGH WORK TO DO IN AREAS OTHER THEN THOSE BEING ADDRESSED BY THE EXPERTS. SPC WORK WOULD PARALLEL EXPERTS DISCUSSIONS WITH EXPERTS REPORT TO BE FACTORED, WHEN AVAILABLE, INTO SPC DELIBERATIONS.

4. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION, SPC AGREED ON A LIST OF QUESTIONS TO GUIDE SOVIET/EE EXPERTS IN THEIR REVIEW OF RELEVANT DETENTE TOPICS.

A COMPOSITE OF QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY SUBMITTED BY THE UK AND NETHERLANDS DELEGATIONS, THE LIST IS INTENDED NOT AS A MANDATE TO THE SOVIET/EE EXPERTS BUT AS AN ILLUSTRATIVE GUIDELINE. SEVERAL DELEGATIONS (NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, CANADA, ITALY), WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT SOVIET/EE EXPERTS WERE THEIR OWN MASTERS AND COULD DECIDE THEIR OWN PACE AND PROGRAM, BELIEVED THAT EXPERTS SHOULD DEAL WITH DETENTE THEME AS A PRIORITY ITEM. KASTL SUGGESTED THAT NATIONAL DELEGATIONS INFORM THEIR INDIVIDUAL EXPERTS OF THE PRIORITY IMPORTANCE TO THE ALLIANCE OF THE DETENTE REVIEW. EXPERTS' ANALYSIS OF YUGOSLAV AND BALKAN DEVELOPMENTS MIGHT FIGURE AS EXPERTS' SECOND PRIORITY ITEM. IN THIS REGARD, UK REP (LOGAN) SAID LONDON WAS PREPARED TO SEND

A SECOND EXPERT TO DEAL WITH DETENTE ASPECTS OF SOVIET/EE EXPERTS WORK.

5. SPC WAS IN GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT COMMITTEE SHOULD WORK TOWARD THE PREPARATION OF A LIST OF QUESTIONS THAT WOULD GIVE STRUCTURE AND PURPOSE TO SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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COUNCIL AND AT THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL. INTENT WAS NOT TO PREPARE EXHAUSTIVE LIST OF QUESTIONS, NOR IN ANY WAY TO USE THEM AS A VEHICLE FOR RESTRICTING DISCUSSIONS. NOR SHOULD SPC OR COUNCIL ATTEMPT TO ANSWER QUESTIONS SINCE THESE SHOULD BE LEFT FOR THE MINISTERS. SEVERAL DELEGATIONS (UK, DUTCH, NORWAY), SUGGESTED THAT SPC HOWEVER, SHOULD ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY AREAS OF DIFFERENCES AMONG THE FIFTEEN IN PERCEPTIONS AND APPROACHES TOWARD DETENTE. US REP AGREED SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD PERMIT ALLIES TO IDENTIFY DIFFERENCES SO THAT THESE COULD BE DISCUSSED BEFORE THEY BECAME TROUBLESOME.

6. IN KEEPING WITH ABOVE APPROACH, FRG REP (BOSS), ALTHOUGH WITHOUT FORMAL APPROVAL FROM BONN, SUMMITTED THE FOLLOWING LIST OF QUESTIONS WHICH THE FRG FELT GERMANE TO A CONSIDERATION OF

DETENTE. GERMAN QUESTIONS WERE IN CATEGORIES OF "GENERAL PERSPECTIVES, EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES, AND FRG NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES".

GENERAL:

(A) THE SOVIET UNION EXCLUDES IDEOLOGICAL COMPETITION IN ITS SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, BUT ASKS THAT WEST TO ACCEPT SUCH COMPETITION FROM THE EAST IN ITS INTERNAL POLITICAL LIFE. HOW CAN THE WEST BEST DEFEND AGAINST SUCH COMPETITION?

(B) AS EUROPEANS AND AS GERMANS, THE FRG FEELS IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO CONTINUE STRESSING GREATER FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IN PEOPLE AND IDEAS EVEN AFTER THE CSCE. SECRETARY KISSINGER'S SEPTEMBER 19 REMARKS SEEM TO PLACE LESS EMPHASIS ON THIS ISSUE.

(C) IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, SHOULD THE ALLIES YIELD TO SOVIET DESIRES FOR LOANS WITH LOW INTEREST RATES OR SHOULD IT BE EXPECTED TO PAY GOING COMMERCIAL RATES OF INTEREST?

EUROPEAN

(A) HOW CAN SOVIET ASPIRATIONS FOR HEGEMONY IN EUROPE BE THWARTED?

(B) CAN THE WEST EXPECT CHANGES IN THE PRESENT FORMS OF SOVIET DOMINATION OVER EASTERN EUROPE?

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(C) ARE THERE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS WHICH THE WEST COULD EXPLOIT?

FRG/NATIONAL

(A) DO THE ALLIES SEE SOVIET AND EAST GERMAN ACTIONS TOWARD BERLIN AS A YARDSTICK FOR MEASURING EASTERN DETENTE PERFORMANCE?

(B) GERMANY WILL HAVE TO SAFEGUARD ITS RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND REUNIFICATION, AND SUSPECTS THAT AFTER THE CSCE THE SOVIETS WILL STIGMATIZE ANY GERMAN REFERENCES TO THESE SUBJECTS AS REVANCHIST AND HOSTILE TO DETENTE. WILL GERMANY HAVE THE SUPPORT OF HER ALLIES IN MAKING SUCH REFERENCES?

7. BOSS SAID THE FRG WOULD BE INTERESTED IN HAVING ALLIED DISCUSSIONS ON THE ABOVE QUESTIONS AND WAS CERTAIN THAT FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER WOULD BE INTERESTED IN HEARING THEM ADDRESSED AT THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL. SPC AGREED THAT FRG PRESENTATION SERVES AS USEFUL GUIDE FOR OTHER DELEGATIONS IN PREPARING DETENTE QUESTIONS FOR ALLIANCE CONSIDERATION.

8. AT CLOSE OF SESSION, KASTL SUGGESTED THAT AT NEXT PERMREPS LUNCH AMBASSADORS MIGHT DISCUSS THE PLACEMENT OF DETENTE DISCUSSIONS

IN THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL AGENDA. WOULD IT BE BETTER, FOR
EXAMPLE, TO INCLUDE DETENTE AMONG THOSE ITEMS CONSIDERED IN THE
PLENARY MEETING, FOR EXAMPLE, UNDER THE EAST/WEST RUBRIC,
OR IN THE RESTRICTED MEETING?
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